1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

765 meat. After that period the grave is again visited by the deceased's friends, who, on reaching the grave, eat some ghí and bread, offer up prayers, and, on returning, slaughter a sheep, whose kidney is roasted and divided in small bits amongst those present. Bread is distributed amongst those present and a little feast is indulged in, in memory of the 771 deceased. I doubt, however, whether the Gilgitis are [761] very exact in their religious exercises. The mention of death was always received with shouts of laughter by them, and one of them told me that a dead person deserved only to be kicked. He possibly only joked and there can be little doubt that the Gilgit people are not very communicative about their better feelings. It would be ridiculous, however, to deny them the possession of natural feelings, although I certainly believe that they are not over-burdened [177] with sentiment. In Astór the influence of Kashmir has madethe people attend a little more to the ceremonies of the Mussalman religion.

In Chilás rigour is observed in the maintenance of religious practices, but elsewhere there exists the greatest 212 laxity. In fact, so rude are the people that they have no written character of their own, and till very recently the art of writing (Persian) was confined to, perhaps, the Rajas of these countries or rather to their Munshis, whenever they had any. Some of them may be able to read the Koran. Even this I doubt, as of hundreds of people I saw only one who could read at Gilgit, and he was a Kashmiri who had travelled far and wide and had at last settled in that country.

9. HOLIDAYS.

796 The great holiday of the Shia people happened in 1867, during the month succeeding the Ramazan, but seems to be generally on the sixth of February. It is called the "Shiá eáo," "the new day of the Shia people." The Gilgitis call the day "Shiá baolen," "the spring of the Shia people." [The year, it will be remembered, is divided into baoseo = spring; walo = summer; shero = autumn;

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

advancing in Dardistan and will, no doubt, sweep away many of the existing traditions. The progress, too, of the present invasion by Kashmir, which, although governed by Hindus, is chiefly Sunni, will familiarize the Dards with the notions of orthodox Muhammadans and will tend to substitute a monotonous worship for a multiform superstition. I have already noticed that, in spite of the exclusiveness of Hinduism, attempts are made by the Maharaja of Kashmir to gather into the fold those races and creeds which, merely because they are not Muhammadan, are induced by him to consider themselves Hindu. For instance, the Siah Posh Kafirs, whom I venture also to consider Dards, have an ancient form of nature-worship which is being encroached upon by Hindu myths, not because they are altogether congenial but because they constitute the religion of the enemies of Muhammadans, their own bitter foes who kidnap the pretty Kafir girls and to kill whom establishes a claim among Kafirs to consideration. In the same way there is a revival of Hinduism in the Buddhist countries of Ladak and Zanskar, which belong to Kashmir, and ideas of caste are welcomed where a few years ago they were unknown. As no one can become a Hindu, but any one can become a Muhammadan, Hinduism is at a natural disadvantage in its contact with an advancing creed and, therefore, there is the more reason why zealous Hindus should seek to strengthen themselves by amalgamation with other idolatrous creeds. To return to the Mussulman Dards, it will be easy to perceive by a reference to my ethnographical vocabulary what notions are Muhammadan and what traces there remain of a more ancient belief. The "world of Gods" is not the mere عرش which their professed religion teaches, nor is the "serpent world" a Muhammadan term for our present existence. Of course, their Maulvis may read "religious lessons" and talk to them of Paradise and Hell, but it is from a more ancient source that they derive a kindly sympathy with the evil spirits "Yatsh," credit them with good actions, describe their worship of the sun and moon, and fill the interior of

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

mountains with their palaces and songs. Again, it is not Islam that tells them of the regeneration of their country by fairies—that places these lovely beings on the top of the Himalayas and makes them visit, and ally themselves to, mankind. The fairies too are not all good, as the Yatsh are not all bad. They destroy the man who seeks to surprise their secrets, although, perhaps, they condone the offence by making him live for ever after in fairy-land. Indeed, the more we look into the national life of the Dards the less do we find it tinctured by Muhammadan distaste of compromise. Outwardly their customs may conform to that ceremonial, but when they make death an opportunity for jokes and amusement we cannot refuse attention to the circumstance by merely explaining it away on the ground that they are savages. I have noticed the prevalence of caste among them, how proud they are of their Shin descent, how little (with the exception of the more devout Chilâsis) they draw upon Scripture for their personal names, how they honour women and how they like the dog, an animal deemed unclean by other Muhammadans. The Dards had no hesitation in eating with me, but I should not be surprised to hear that they did not do so when Mr. Hayward visited them, for the Hinduized Mussulman servants that one takes on tours might have availed themselves of their supposed superior knowledge of the faith to inform the natives that they were making an improper concession to an infidel. A good many Dards, however, have the impression that the English are Mussulmans—a belief that would not deter them from killing or robbing a European traveller in some districts, if he had anything "worth taking." Gouhar-Amân [called "Gôrmân" by the people] of Yasin used to say that as the Koran, the word of God, was sold, there could be no objection to sell an expounder of the word of God, a Mulla, who unfortunately fell into his hands. I did not meet any real Shin who was a Mulla,* but I have no doubt that, especially in

* I have already related that a foreign Mulla had found his way to Gilgit, and that the people, desirous that so holy a man should not leave

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

Hunza, they are using the services of Mullas in order to give a religious sanction to their predatory excursions. I have said that the Dards were generally Shiahs—perhaps I ought not to include the Shiah Hunzas among Dards as they speak a non-Aryan language unlike any other that I know*—and as a rule the Shiahs are preyed upon by Sunnis. Shiah children are kidnapped by Sunnis as an act both religious and profitable. Shiahs have to go through the markets of Bokhara denying their religion, for which deception, by the way, they have the sanction of their own priests.† Can we, therefore, wonder that the Mulái Hunzas make the best of both worlds by preferring to kidnap Sunnis to their own co-religionists? A very curious fact is the attachment of Shiahs to their distant priesthood. We know how the Indian Shiahs look to Persia; how all expect the advent of their Messiah, the Imám Mahdi; how the appointment of Kazis (civil functionaries) is made through the Mujtehid [a kind of high priest] and is ratified by the ruling power, rather than emanate direct from the secular authorities, as is the case with Sunnis. The well-known Sayad residing at Bombay, Agha Khan, has adherents even in Dardistan, and any command that may reach them from him [generally a demand for money] is obeyed implicitly. Indeed, throughout India and Central Asia there are men, some of whom lead an apparently obscure life, whose importance for good or evil should not be underrated by the authorities. [See my "Hunza and Nagyr Handbook, 1893."]

What we know about the religion of the Siah-Posh

them and solicitous about the reputation that their country had no shrine, killed him in order to have some place for pilgrimage. Similar stories are, however, also told about shrines in Afghanistan. My Sarini speaks of shrines in Nagyr, Chilás and Yasin, and says that in Sunni Chilás there are many Mullahs belonging to all the castes—two of the most eminent being Kramins of Shatiál, about 8 miles from Sazin. About Castes, vide page 62.

* I refer to the Khajuná, or Burishki, a language also spoken in Nagyr and a part of Yasin, whose inhabitants are Dards.

† I refer to the practice of "Taqqiah." In the interior of Kabul Hazara, on the contrary, I have been told that Pathan Sunni merchants have to pretend to be Shiahs, in order to escape being murdered.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

ready to take a tin containing pork and could scarcely be restrained till "lawful" food was brought to them by my servants. Men were forced to go with the troops. One Hakim Ali Shah, a teacher at Amritsar, was compelled to serve as a physician, a post to which he had no other claim, except that his name happened to be "Hakim." I rescued him. A virulent fever was destroying the troops at Gilgit, who, even after the siege of the fort had been raised, were liable to be shot down by prowlers from the tribes within a few yards of the fort. I ordered the fort, etc., to be cleaned and, although myself in danger of life from my Kashmir friends, if not from the tribes, I insisted on my orders being obeyed, the assumption of an authoritative tone being often a traveller's only chance of safety among Asiatics. I distributed medicine among the troops and was afterwards told in Durbar by the Maharajah that some medicine which I had sent to Wazir Zoorawra, who was then on his Dawyl expedition, had saved his life.

Since then, the Dards have made the acquaintance of diseases for which there was not even a name in 1866. I refer chiefly to cholera and syphilis, which Kashmiri and Indian troops have introduced. Simultaneously, the indigenous methods of treatment, which are full of lessons for the impartial learner, are dying out. Industrial handicrafts, historical superstitions or reminiscences, national feasts which existed in 1866 exist no longer, and what exists now will soon vanish before the monotony of orthodox Muhammadanism and the vulgarity of so-called European civilisation. "*Und der Götter Instt Gerümmel, Hat vglaich das stille Haus gefüllt.*" The fairies and prophetesses of Dardistan are silent, the Thum of Hunza no longer brings down rain, the family axes are broken, the genealogies have been destroyed, and the sacred drum is heard no longer. The quaint computations of age, of months, seasons, years and half-years, and the strange observations of shadows thrown at various times are dying out or are already dead. Worse than all for enquiry into ancient human history, the languages which contain the words of "*whatever was,*" are being flooded by foreign dialects, and what may survive will no longer appeal to the national understanding. This result is most lamentable as regards Hunza, where the oldest human speech still showed elementary processes of development. I fear that my attempt to commit, for the first time, to writing, in an adapted *Persian* character, the Khajuna language, has only been followed in a document of honour which the venerable Chief of Nagya sent me some years ago. Already do some European writers call him and his people "ignorant" when their own ignorance is alone deserving of censure. I deeply regret that the friendship of so many Dard Chiefs for me has made them unsuspicious of Europeans, and may have thus indirectly led to the loss of their independence, but I rejoice that for over twenty-five years I have not attracted the European adventurer to Dardistan by saying anything about Pliny's "*fortissimi sunt Dardæ*," except in Khajuna Ethnographical Dialogues in the "Hunza-Nagya Handbook," which explorers were not likely to read. Now others have published the fact, but not the accompanying risks.

As Kandia is inserted, Nagya pious, Chilas puritanical, and all true Dard tribes essentially peaceful and virtuously republican, so, no doubt, Hunza was the country of free love and of raiding, that had ceased in 1865, which we gratuitously revived (see Appendix I.). I doubt, however, whether

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APPENDIX VI.

A ROUGH ACCOUNT, COLLECTED IN 1866, OF ITINERARIES IN THE "NEUTRAL ZONE" BETWEEN CENTRAL ASIA AND INDIA. By Raja Khushwaqtia and Dr. G. W. Leitner.

Route I.

From Gilgit to Kabul, viâ Darayl, Tangir, Kandia, Ujh, Torwal, Swat, Dir, Maidán, Jandúl, Bajour, Mamuzai, Pushái, Kunár, Jalálabad, Kabul.

Gilgit to Sherrila, 9 kúrha (rough) kós * (18 miles), ruled by Ism Bahadur's son, Raja Akbar Khan, under Kashmír, a faithful ally, contains 70 zemindars' (peasants') houses on the Yasin river.

Sherrila to Patári (is uninhabited), over a ridge Pir (17 kurha kós) called Banzir, which is a pleasure on which the Darayls graze their flocks in the spring.

Patári to Yasnoor (12 kurha kós), road stony and jungly. Yasnoor is a village of Darayl of one hundred houses, occupied by zemindars who have cattle, sheep, goats, and buffaloes (which are not found in Badakhshan). The ground produces much white maize (from which bread is made), wheat, barley, grapes growing to a gigantic size, nuts, etc. There is excellent water, but it is very cold. The people are Sunnis, and speak Shind (the dialect of Chilás). [The Shins appear to have been a Hindu tribe expelled from Kashmír territory and converted to a sort of Mohammedanism, both Shiah and Sunni. They are the highest caste in Dardistan; but, instead of the Babylonical veneration for the cow, they abhor everything connected with it—its flesh and milk—and only touch its calf at the end of a prong.] Yasnúr has two mosques, and Mullas who understand Arabic well. The Darayls are very religious, and attentive to their ceremonial practices. The remainder of Darayl runs past it.

Yasnoor to Mankial, 3 kurha kós, a plain easy march through a prairie. Mankál has two forts, one of which has about 300 houses, and is called Dirkana; and the other, Mankál proper, which has 300 houses and an old Mosque. Mankál is surrounded by forests. When the Kashmír troops reached Mankál, the Darayls, after fighting, burned down their old fort rather than surrender. There are many Mullas and disciples there, some coming from Peshawar, Swat, etc.

Mankial to Sawarghái, 3 kurha kós, over an inhabited plain. The fort contains 800 houses. A great elder (Djadoorun) called Kalashmír resides there, whom all the Darayls respect and follow, although there are many other Djadoorun, like Mingbáshees (tribes, mayors), in Kashmír villages. He is wise and rich, possessing, perhaps, in addition to cattle,

* A kós is a measurement of distance varying from 1 to 4½ miles, and often depending on the speaker's imagination due to localities unacquainted as to other means. "Kurha" and "pukka," for "rough, unfinished" and "thorough," respectively, are terms well known to Anglo-Indians. "Kurha" and "pukka" are generally spelt "kutcha" and "pucka."

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The matter I have to present came to me largely fortuitously. My own interests lay in matters linguistic, and my immediate object was to obtain knowledge and specimens of the local languages. These languages are, of course, unwritten.

My principal method in such cases has been to get the people to tell me current popular tales and legends, and to give me accounts of local customs and beliefs, and to write them down to their dictation.

The content of my language material may therefore present subject of interest to folklorists, but it has not been collected with the critical knowledge or care of an expert folklorist.

Material thus casually collected is bound to present contradictions, ambiguities, and possibly misunderstandings, when it is not set in the firm frame of a story.

In regard to the terrain with which we are concerned, it is enough to recall that it is situated in the extreme north of India, to the north-west of Kashmir, in one of the loftiest mountain tracts of the world: the meeting point of the Hindu Kush and Karakoram ranges, where peaks and even ranges of 20,000 feet are a commonplace. The physical features are such as to favour isolation, a condition difficult of attainment in a continental country. Access for foreign influences must always have been difficult and restricted.

Even in recent times with the advent of the Pax Britannica, the partial establishment of foreign administration, and the construction of traversable roads, there has been no overwhelming inflow of exogenous influences, only a gradual infiltration. Thus old-standing beliefs and customs have not been subjected to any violent assault by modern disintegrating forces.

Isolation, however, is never more than relative.

In the case of Gilgit, at some unknown time, probably not more than 500 or 600 years ago, Islam gained admittance and sooner or later became the sole recognized religion in the region. Islam is a whole cultural system in itself,

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providing everything from popular tales and domestic ritual upwards, and its effects on the outlook of any unvitiated people must be immense.

Again a new period of foreign influence opened in the nineteenth century, first with the incursions of the Dogra rulers of Kashmir, resulting in partial occupation and administration, and later, in 1892, by the establishment of British general control in the rest of the country.

There are three principal languages in use in the Gilgit area: Burushaski, Shina and Khowar. Burushaski is the language of the people of Hunza Nagir, and a dialect of it is spoken by the inhabitants of Yasin. Shina is the language of the majority, current, in various dialects, over the greater part of the Gilgit Agency, as well as in Darel and Tangir to the south. It is an Aryan language. Khowar is also of that stock and is the language of Chitral. It is spoken in the western districts of Gilgit, Ghizar, and part of Kuh, and as a secondary language in Yasin.

How far there are to-day any definite ethnical distinctions in the population corresponding to these different languages is an open question. There has certainly been considerable mingling through intermarriage and individual migration, but there are at present insufficient data for solving the ethnological problems of the Gilgit region. When in Gilgit I secured anthropometric measurements of some 600 men from the various districts, and it is possible that if these are ever worked out by some competent anthropologist they may afford grounds for intelligent guessing.

The material of which I am going to make use reached me chiefly through the medium of Shina: that is, it represents the beliefs of the Shin and Yashkun speakers of Shina. To a lesser extent I shall be able to refer to corresponding beliefs existing among the Burushaski speakers of Hunza and Nagir. It is significant that the names of several of the principal supernatural actors are different in the two languages, for this means that even if the two linguistic communities derive

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121 from a common racial source these supernatural beings have
197 been long enough in the possession of each to acquire
● 771 independent existence in its language. This of course
171 probably represents an inversion of the facts. It is safer on the whole to assume independent origins and gradual assimilation through contact and social fusion.

197 It appears to me not an impossible theory that of the two
563 great sections into which the Shina-speaking population
194 is divided, the socially inferior Yashkuns represent the earlier population who probably shared the language and culture of the surviving Burushaski-speaking peoples, while the Shins were an invading and conquering race who imposed on the Yashkuns their language and probably took over from them some of their beliefs.

[532] The Khowar in the western districts is due probably to the extension of the Chitrali population beyond the political and natural borders of Chitral, reinforced by intermarriage which goes on at the present day, and in part to political domination in the past, which in quite recent times amounted to actual rule. Punial and Yasin are still governed by members of the Khushwakhti family of Chitral whose mother tongue is Khowar.

128 In order to facilitate the arrangement and handling of the material with which we have to deal, it is necessary to adopt some system of classification of the Supernatural. I am not in a position to offer any scientific scheme, but a very rough grouping will suffice to serve our needs.

From one point of view we may regard the Supernatural as represented :—

1. By Animate Beings possessing certain supernatural powers or qualities, e.g. demons, witches, etc.

2. By Qualities or Virtues pertaining to, or affecting inanimate objects, exhibited in magical or irrational processes and properties.

With the latter category, comprising examples of sympathetic and contagious magic, the working of the evil

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there by the local people till a few years ago, when it was stopped, I think, by the orders of the Mir of Hunza. Animals were slaughtered there "in the name of the Bōyo".

From a story of Hunza tribal history it appears that the Bōyo were regarded as the avengers of broken oaths taken in their names. In a dispute about the ownership of land between two brothers Khuru and Khamer, Khamer proposed that the case should be decided by their taking oath. Khuru, the weaker party, who was also incidentally in the right, agreed and said: "O brother, the Sahāla Bō.in and the Hilesa Bō.in are very powerful and they are quick to wrath." But Khamer, who meditated a ramp and had no mind to be caught in this way, would not even hear this proposal out. "If we swear by them," he said, "they will work us evil." So the idea was dropped and with it disappeared our chance of learning the methods of taking oath by the Bōyo.[1]

The Bōyo now bear the stigma attaching to the gods of a superseded religion. "Bōyo-worshipper" (bōyo ā.šikinas) is now used in the sense of heathen, pagan.

There seems to be a special association between the Bōyo and trees, and the trees share in their sanctity. Whether they each have their own independent virtue, or whether the one owes its worshipfulness in any measure to the merits of the other it is impossible to say.

In the two remaining texts in which I have references to the Bōyo the associate tree plays an important part. In a statement made in Ghizr by Šāhabāz Sultān 'Ali of Nagir regarding certain popular practices at Chapēt he said: "Further they say that all the people used to assemble to do worship to a pine-tree that was there. They used to take a grey goat and slay it at the foot of the tree and a great

[1] I have here accepted the relation of Bō.in and Bōyō as singular and plural which is morphologically quite in order, and is asserted by some, though denied by other, authorities. The word bō.in seems to survive in bō.indrgus (pl. bō.in dērgaṛi) which was explained as urwāh—the spirits of the dead. Dērg, occurring in other compounds, appears to refer to a dead person.

Jr Muhammad G-3 (ca. 1900) 1907 AV3 Dard AV3

frequently visited by fairies who used to make these inscriptions, as in the opinion of the Chilasis it is beyond man's power to produce such inscriptions. It is also affirmed that these fairies were seen in those days by all men, but nowadays they are visible to no one except to a great Mullah by dint of his miracles. The Bagrot people say that the carvings were inscribed on stones by the fairies on the night of "Shino Bazono;" and that on the same night the fairies frequently used to rub away the figures from one stone and to engrave the same on another.

532 174 776 778

The Ceremony of Sri Kun.

Sri Kun is said to be the sister of Nagi Sochemi, and lived at Shankank, a village near Gudai in the District of Astore. The villagers used to present goats to this goddess and prayed before her seat for the supply of their wants. Her followers were strictly prohibited from keeping cows, or drinking their milk, and were under the impression that by so doing they were apt to lose their flocks, herds, or the produce of their lands.

776 782 262

"Jainkish" and "Dewaro."

At Gilgit proper and in the surrounding villages there are seen two small tracts of land called "Jainkish" and "Dewaro." The former is situated on the river bank and the latter at the foot of a hill, except at some places in which they both are found at the foot of a hill. In ancient times, when Islam had not spread to these parts, the tribes used to burn the dead at "Jainkish," and a few days after they gathered and carried away the bones to "Dewaro," where they buried them in one pit. Remnants of bones still mark these places, though the traces have almost been obliterated by time. In these circumstances, however, one is not wrong in supposing that Muhammadanism is of recent growth.

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Several old men still living at Gilgit relate that they used to play with the brass bangles and rings which they found in "Jainkish;" but to carry away such articles to their houses was considered improper. From this it appears that the dead bodies were buried with their ornaments.

[174]

Sankar Village and a "Chinar" Tree.

There is a small populous village named Sankar in the Bagrot Valley. It is said that when this tract was lying waste, a Fakir named Shah Burya passed through and halted there for a short time. Becoming thirsty and finding no water, he prayed to God for a good supply. His prayer was granted, and a sufficient quantity of water burst forth from an adjacent hill. After a few days Shah Burya felt the heat of the sun, and planting his stick, which was of *chinar* wood, deep into the ground, prayed again to the Almighty to make it into a large *chinar* tree. This prayer was also granted, and a big tree grew, under whose shadow he afterwards used to sit. The branches of this tree are said to have been once so large and spreading that they touched the neighbouring hill about 600 yards distant, across the Bagrot Nullah. The tree was afterwards burnt by the Mongols, but after a short period five shoots sprang out from its trunk, and these are still to be seen, forming an enclosure about 30 yards wide.

361 539 988 174

Mr Biddulph G-8 (1873-1878) 1880 Afgh-afghanistan-Afgh-
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Pakistan

languages, who differ considerably amongst themselves. As, however, there is no one name which will properly apply to the peoples and countries in question, it will be perhaps convenient to retain the names of Dard and Dardistan when speaking collectively of the tribes in question and the countries they inhabit. 101

The first 50 miles of the Kohistan of the Indus Valley is inhabited by tribes of cognate race, who still speak a variety of dialects and languages. Their distribution seems to show that they represent tribes who formerly lived apart, but have been forced by circumstances into contiguity. In addition to their own languages, Pushtoo is universally spoken, and they present the appearance of a decadent race in process of absorption by one of greater vigour. The country is somewhat poorer and less fertile than that already described. Long intervals of barren sand intervene between the patches of cultivation, the villages are smaller, much cultivable land lies idle, and all agriculture is of a slovenly description. The men are small and clean-limbed, with dark complexions, quick eye and sharp features. Women are not secluded from the public gaze. Men shave their heads in a manner more suggestive of Hindoos, and many strange customs still linger amongst them, showing that Mahommedan fanaticism is not incompatible with ignorance of the Koran. In some of the more inaccessible villages idolatry can hardly yet be said to be extinct. Instead of the loose ample garments of the Pathan, the men wear tight-fitting clothes, like the natives of Hindustan. 197 563 134 311 142 562 302 771 291

Some 15 miles above the mouth of the Kanra-Ghorbund Valley, on the right bank of the Indus, is the extensive but thinly-populated valley of Doobeyr, which extends nearly due north for a distance of about 40 miles. Five miles from the Indus the village of Ranooliyah, 200 houses, is reached; above this the habitations are scattered broadcast over the whole valley, instead of being collected into villages. The only village of any size is Jarg, 100 houses, 6 miles above Ranooliyah. From the head of the valley a road leads into the Swat Valley near Payeteh, and another into Kandia. The valley can furnish about 1,500 fighting men, and the ground, where cultivable, is said to yield excellent crops. 361 162

On the opposite bank of the Indus and above the mouth of the Doobeyr Valley are the neighbouring and rival communities of Koli and Palus, which are often spoken of as forming a single tribe. They were formerly close allies, but a feud, arising out of a dispute concerning some land to which 628

[i.e. the country of the Pathans - Analyst]

CHAPTER VII.

HABITS AND CUSTOMS.

NOTWITHSTANDING original tribal differences, the Shin rule in Gilgit and the surrounding valleys practically welded both conquerors and conquered into one people, distinguished only by caste divisions; and, though Mahommedanism has in some instances modified and in others abolished old customs, many of great interest still remain. Many of these, though originating in religious rites and beliefs, have now lost all connection with them in the minds of those who still practise them. It is difficult, almost impossible, now to distinguish between those which were introduced by the Shins, and those which were adopted by them from the original inhabitants; but fairly correct conjectures concerning the origin of some of them may be formed. Hunza is the country least affected by external influences, and in which the laxest form of Mahommedanism now exists, but there is scarcely any custom or observance maintained there which has not its counterpart still existing, or which till lately existed in the neighbouring valleys. In Chitral and some of the valleys to the westward, many customs seem to have partly disappeared. This may, not improbably, be due to the inhabitants having been earlier converts to Islam, or more exposed to external influences. In the valleys to the southward, like Chilas and Darel, the want of a single ruler and the stricter tenets of Soonnee Mahommedanism have contributed to cause many old customs and festivals to fall into disuse. In spite, however, of local differences, enough remains to show that a strong bond of kinship exists between all the Dard and Ghalchah tribes.

In appearance the men are light, active figures, averaging from 5 feet 5 inches to 5 feet 8 inches in height. Though well made, they are not, as a rule, remarkable for muscular development, presenting in this respect a marked contrast to the Tartar races. Notwithstanding their hardy, simple lives, they seem unequal to any prolonged physical effort. In travelling and shooting I have constantly found them knock up before

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CHAPTER IX.

PAST AND PRESENT RELIGIONS.

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MR. DREW has shown that the stricter observance of Mahommedan customs in Gilgit dates from a very recent period, and though the tenets of Islam, owing to local circumstances, have taken firmer root in some valleys of Dardistan than in others, there are no positive records or traditions to indicate the nature of the religion which they supplanted. Circumstantial evidence, however, enables some opinion to be formed on the subject, and each religion that has in turn prevailed in these valleys has left some trace of its existence.

The Oxus Valley having been the cradle of the religion of Zoroaster, the valleys south of the Hindoo Koosh are not likely to have escaped its influence. In Wakhan there are many towers and structures which are still ascribed to the worshippers of fire, and the tradition of this worship still lingers in Yassin. The secluded easily defensible valleys of Yassin and Gilgit are so eminently suited to afford shelter from persecution to the followers of a dying faith, that fire-worship probably existed in them long after it had been driven out of neighbouring, more accessible, valleys. In the "Taleni" portion of the Nôo festival, of which mention has already been made, we probably see the last surviving relic of Magian worship in these countries.

Richardson, in his Dissertation, says, speaking of the ancient fire-worshippers—

"In December, on the shortest night of the year, was the anniversary of the great festival of fire, called *Shab Sindeh* (شب سده), when their temples were illuminated, and large piles of fire blazed all over the kingdom; round which the people entertained themselves all night with choral dances, and various amusements peculiar to the season."

He also says that the festival was instituted to commemorate a popular tradition—

"In the time of King Hushang (about 860 years before the Christian era) a monstrous dragon infesting the country, the king himself attacked him with stones, when one of them falling with prodigious force upon

another, struck fire, set the heritage and surrounding trees in a blaze, and consumed the dragon in the flames."

The resemblance of this legend to the Gilgit legend, which the Talemi festival is said to commemorate, is noteworthy. Under the story of the tyrant Shiri Buddum devouring his subjects is probably concealed an ancient sun-myth. Long after the original meaning of the celebration had been forgotten, the custom no doubt survived; and advantage may have been taken of the festival to get rid of an unpopular ruler. In the legend of Shiri Buddum it is represented that his life could not exist fire, and he is still fabled as dwelling in a place surrounded by glaciers, from which he attempts to issue yearly at the time of the winter solstice, but is driven back by the Talemi.

Later, when Buddhism was the prevailing religion on both sides of the Hindoo Koosh, this religion doubtless established itself as strongly in the southern valleys as it did in the lateral valleys of Badakhshan. Scattered through the Gilgit and Astor Valleys are a number of remains of Buddhistic stone altars, similar to those which are so common in Ladakh. The name "Mani," which is still applied to them, sufficiently attests their origin, though the natives attempt to account for them by saying that they have been made for the convenience of people carrying loads to rest their burdens upon. Their size, position, and the labour that has evidently been expended on them, however, forbid the acceptance of the reason assigned. They are sometimes also called "Thalli."

Both in the Sai and Gilgit Valleys there are several remains of Buddhist Chortens, whose forms can still be distinctly traced. Those in best preservation are about 3 miles from Gilgit, near the village of Nowpoor, where there are four Chortens close together in line. The remains of a large one also exist in the Chitral Valley, on a conspicuous point near the road not far from the valley of Koosht, and are still spoken of as "the idol." Closer research would no doubt discover many others.

Near the village of Nowpoor,[1] not far from Gilgit, is a large rock-cut figure of Buddha. The angle of the fork of two ravines is formed by an abrupt perpendicular rock several hundred feet high. In the very point of the angle the rock has split, so as to leave a broad smooth surface 50 feet from the ground. On this a deep slot has been cut in

[1] Nowpoor would appear to have been formerly the more important place of the two, its earliest name was Amoor.

[Cf. category 116, plate facing p. 108 -- Analyst]

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771 174 172 the form of a pentagon, within which the figure has been cut in intaglio. The face is exactly as represented on well-known figures of Buddha, with ear ornaments and head-dress, thick compressed lips, smooth face, and impassive countenance. The figure is erect, and is about 9 feet high. The upper part, which is in excellent preservation, is well finished, the lower part is not so well executed. The right arm is held across the body with the hand open, palm outwards; the left hand hangs by the side, and holds a staff or some kind of weapon. The whole figure is exposed, but the edge of a robe or some hanging drapery is portrayed, which, with the smooth face, has given rise to the modern belief that it is intended for a female figure. The lines of the pentacle are accurately drawn and deeply cut. On the edge are deep square niches, cut at regular intervals, which may have been used to hold timber supports of a frame to protect the figure from injury. The feet of the figure are upwards of 30 feet from the ground, and it must have been a matter of considerable difficulty to execute the work in such a position.

It is probable, however, that the level of the soil below the figure was formerly higher than it is at present, for there are signs close by of the existence of an old watercourse for purposes of irrigation, part of which appears to have been carried for a considerable distance along the face of the rock in a wooden trough. This watercourse has been rendered useless by the sinking of the water-levels, probably accompanied by a sinking of the level of the adjacent soil; and, this being the case, it appears likely that, at the time at which the figure was cut, no very high platform was necessary to enable the cutters to reach the proper position. The cutting both of the figure and of the sockets, which appear to have been used for the supports of the watercourse, show a knowledge of stone-cutting quite beyond the power of the present inhabitants of the country.

771 174 Were it not for the difference in size, I should be inclined to regard this as the figure of Buddha mentioned by the Chinese traveller Fah-Hian, who visited India about A.D. 400. According to him the figure was 94 feet high, and the length of one foot 9 feet 4 inches. His route as far as Khoten is traced without difficulty, and To-li, or Tha-li-lo, must certainly be Darel or Gilgit; but the route followed between these two points is less easily identified. General Cunningham has given strong reasons for identifying Kiech-ha with Leh, thus making Fah-Hian's route to have been along the

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course of the Indus from Leh to Dard, but the narrative shows that the great mountain range was not crossed till after leaving Kiech-ha, which must therefore have been on the north side of the mountains. Also it is scarcely possible that the travellers should have journeyed for a month along the bank of Indus, from Leh to Dard, without making mention of the river, and the first mention of it is not made till after passing Tsa-li. Moreover, the route down the Indus Valley from Leh would necessitate frequent crossings and re-crossings of the river, which would scarcely have escaped mention, and is so difficult, even in the present day, as to be only accessible to practised mountaineers, as it is not likely to have ever been used by ordinary travellers. Had Fah Hian passed through Leh on his way to India, he would naturally have continued by the route in present use through Cashmere, which he certainly did not visit. Beal identifies Kiech-ha with Kaschan, which has lately been re-discovered by Shaw; but the elevation of Kaschan is not sufficient to justify the statement that no grain except corn ever ripened there, or to procure for the inhabitants the title of "Men of the snowy mountains." Beal identifies Tsa-ho with Yarkand, while Cunningham, following Klaproth, would identify it with Cogiar. The balance of evidence is certainly in favour of Beal's view. Cogiar has not advantages sufficient ever to have made it so important a place as Tsa-ho seems to have been, and it is situated immediately at the foot of the mountains, which would be entered by the travellers on the first march after leaving the place. But the narrative states that they did not enter the mountains till four days after leaving Tsa-ho, and this would correspond well with the position of Yarkand. The twenty-five days occupied by the travellers on the road between Khoten and Yarkand gives a fair idea of their general rate of march. I should be disposed to identify Kiech-ha either with Sirikol, which in spite of its elevation was certainly an important place in those days, or with Raskam, which, though now deserted, is said to have once been the centre of a flourishing community. Each of these places would answer fairly well to Kiechha. The distances, however, judging by the number of days taken by the travellers, agree best with Sirikol, in which, therefore, I would recognise Kiech-ha. From Yarkand the travellers must have reached Sirikol by the Kooshersh route, and the Yu-hwui must have been nomad tribes, answering to the Kirghis of the present day. From Sirikol Fah-

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Hian and his companions must have travelled either through Hunza down to Gilgit, and so on to Darel, or, more probably, across the Pamir, which would account for the mention of their route proceeding westward from Sirikol, and into the Gilgit Valley by the Darkot Pass, as suggested by Beal. From the Gilgit Valley they would naturally take the route to Darel up the Kergah Valley, at the mouth of which is the rock figure in question. This would certainly have been their most direct route to the Punjab. Striking the Indus (Sin-tu) at the mouth of the Darel Valley, they must have followed the course of the river for several days, and reached Swat (So-ho-to) by one of the lateral routes, such as that by Ghorband.

Whether or not this be the actual figure mentioned by Fah-Hian, his account enables the date of the introduction of Buddhism into these valleys to be approximately fixed at about 150 B.C., or three hundred years after the Nirvana of Buddha.

The account now given of the figure is, that in ancient times a *Dewnee*, or female demon who preyed on men, lived in the ravine, from which she sallied forth to seize passers-by; her custom being to devour only half of her prey, that is, if she seized two men, she devoured one and left the other; if she seized one, she only ate half of her victim. One day a holy man arrived who undertook to free the country of the demon. The Demnee sallied out as usual to seize him, but by the power of the holy man was turned into stone, and fixed to the rock. Being soon after desirous of leaving the country, the holy man told the people that, to ensure the continuance of the spell by which the demon had been rendered powerless, it was necessary that at his death he should be buried at the foot of the rock, and stringently charged them to be careful to bring back his body for the purpose from whatever place in which he might chance to die.

The people of Gilgit, according to the account of their descendants, took a very practical view of the case. They said that they could not be at the trouble of searching for, and bringing back, his body from any distant place he might chance to die in, with the risk of the demon being restored to life in case of failure, so they chopped off his head there and then, and buried him as directed. At the foot of the rock is a tomb which is pointed out as that of the unlucky saint.

Buddhism was no doubt the religion of the country at the time of the Shin invasion. There seem, however, to be

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It is also a matter of accepted tradition in Gilgit, Gor, Hunza, and Nagar, that suttee was formerly practised. The dead man, with his finest clothes and his weapons girded on him was placed on the pyre, and as the fire burst up, the woman, arrayed in her jewellery and her richest clothes, leaped into the flames.

The burning of the dead ceased to be practised more than sixty years ago. One or two old men have told me that they could remember hearing it mentioned, as a not uncommon occurrence, in their youth, but none could recollect having witnessed any actual instance. So lately as in 1877, a very old man in Darel scandalised his neighbours by calling his sons to him on his death bed, and after having his arms and valuables brought to him, desiring to be burnt with them when dead. His wish, however, was not carried out. He and a man of Gor, who died twenty years ago, are known to have always refused to be circumcised, or to call themselves Mahommedans. They were probably the very last Hindoos in Donguristan. Suttee was abolished earlier, and has certainly not been practised in Donguristan for the last hundred years.

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It is to be remarked that none of those customs, which savour so strongly of modern Hindooism, are to be found, either as now existing or as resting on former tradition, in any of the valleys to which the Shin rule did not extend; nor is the term Dongarik applied in any cases except those mentioned. The difference between some types of Hindooism and Buddhism is not necessarily very great, but the existence of customs among them, not shared by their neighbours, the establishment of a caste system, the use of the title of Ra for their rulers, and the common suffix of *Sing* to their own names, with the frequent use of Sanscrit terms, show that considerable differences exist between the Shins and their neighbours of the Swat, Punjkorah, and Chitral Valleys, with whose language their own has so much in common.

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In spite of the more severe type of Mahommedanism which prevails, and which gathers strength year by year, idolatrous customs still survive. In every village in which Shins are in the majority, there is a large stone, which is still more or less the object of reverence. Each village has its own name for this stone, but an oath taken or an engagement made over it, is often held more binding than where the Koran is used. In several villages goats are still annually

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sacrificed beside the stone, which is sprinkled with blood, and in other places the practice has only lately been discontinued. Though the religion introduced by the Shins would appear to have been of a Brahminical type, it must have contained also a considerable amount of demon worship, as is shown by Mr. Shaw in his account of the Hasu Dards.

I have been told that when the Cashmere troops first occupied Gilgit, there was in the fort a slab of stone about 3 feet long, bearing a Sanscrit inscription. My informant told me that he had made out the words, "Ishwar ling murti," or, "the Lingum incarnation of Shiva," but that the rest of the inscription was illegible. In 1871 the fort was destroyed by an earthquake which exploded the powder magazine and reduced the whole to ruins. The present fort was erected on the same site, and the stone was doubtless built into the foundations. The names of many of the rulers and of a number of places, not only in the Indus and Gilgit Valleys, but also in the Chitral Valley, point to a Brahminical origin. Amongst the names of places may be mentioned *Isu* (Siva, *or* Mahadeo), *Shigrum* (Siva's village), *Shigrur* (Siva's priest), and *Sumo*. In the Hunza and Nagar genealogies we find the names of *Ladikkum* (the beautiful Thum), *Hurrikkum*,[1] and *Bukkalikkum*,[2] and one of the last independent Rus of Gilgit, Suleiman Khan, is best known by the name of *Gowrikkum*.[3]

With all this evidence it can scarcely be doubted that some form of Brahminism was introduced by the Shins into the Gilgit Valley, and, to a greater or less degree, wherever their rule extended. In valleys in which they were out-numbered by the former inhabitants, the result was, doubtless, a mixture of Buddhism and Hindooism, grafted on a form of demon-worship already existing in the country. The religious practices of the Hasu Dards described by Mr. Shaw, probably approach most nearly to those which formerly existed in Gilgit and the neighbouring valleys, when under Shin rule.

The Shins seem to have introduced, along with their form of Hindooism, a piece of tree-worship, which has been already described. Though no longer an object of public worship, supplications are still addressed to the *Chili*, especially by women desirous of children, by burning its branches, and it is still regarded as possessing special powers of puri-

[1] From Hari, a name for Mahadeo.

[2] Probably a corruption of *Mukkalikkum*, referring to Mukkai "the first transmigration."

[3] From Gowri, the wife of Mahadeo.

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D 771 174 778 fication. It plays a conspicuous part in the incantations of the Dainyals, and on a great man entering a Shin village a pan of burning Chili branches is waved before him. On certain occasions both men and women saturate themselves with the smoke, which is of a particularly pungent nature.

D 771 174 B 771 178 The custom of Chili worship does not appear to have penetrated to Hunza or Nager, nor is any trace of it to be found in the Oxus Valley, in Chitral, or among the tribes of the Swat Valley; but among the Siah-Posh it seems to exist in almost the same form as it did among the Shins. Chili wood, or Pudam, is still taken down to the Punjab to be used in Hindoo ceremonials. According to Colonel Prejevalski, the same tree is also held sacred by the Mongols and Tangutans, who burn the branches for incense during prayer time. At Hemis Shukpa, within 20 miles of Leh, a few trees of great age exist, and are held in much veneration by the Tartars of the village, though the tree is not generally an object of Tartar respect.[1] It may be that the feeling of veneration was imbibed from the Shins, whose influence must have extended nearly to Leh. It is still usual in Gilgit to sprinkle goat's blood on a tree of any kind before cutting it down.

D 771 171 B 771 171 The religion of the whole country is now some form of Mahommedanism, and in the immense knot of mountains of which Yassin forms the centre, three different types of the same religion have met, and are now striving for the mastery. From the south, Soonnee Moollahs have carried their tenets up the different valleys with more or less success. From the eastward a current of Shiah doctrines has set in from Iskardo; and from the westward the curious Maulai, or Mugloe,[2] tenets have found their way up the Oxus Valley. It is to be noticed that the subversion of Hindooism by Mahommedanism in the remoter valleys seems to have been extremely gradual, and to have been more owing to gradual conversion than to persecution.

D 771 173 B 771 173 The genealogical tables of the present ruling families of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, enable a fair idea to be formed of the date of the introduction of Islam into the country. Tradition records the death of the Gilgit Ra with the non-Mussulman name of Shiri Buddutt,[3] at the hands of a stranger bearing the Mussulman name of Azru, or Azor, from whom the present Ra of Gilgit, and the Thums of Hunza and Nager, trace

[1] Henderson's *Lahore to Yarkand*, page 52.
[2] The common uneducated pronunciation.
[3] The meaning of the name is perhaps "Given by Sri Buddha." —*Sri Buddha Dutta.*

their descent. Allowing twenty-five years for each generation, this would place the first appearance of Mahommedanism in Gigit at about the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century—a time when that faith had already spread over the more accessible parts of Central Asia. It is to be noted that this exactly corresponds with the time when Islam was first introduced into Cashmere, which, according to Ferishta, happened between A. D. 1313 and 1346. General Cunningham, by computing thirty years for each generation, and fifteen for the reign of each ruler, places the introduction of Mahommedanism into Khapalu about a century later.* According to one tradition Azor came from Iskardo, and in the genealogy of the Mahpon princes, a Mahommedan adventurer is shown to have established himself in that place at exactly the same time, if the same computation be allowed for the duration of a generation.

It is not, however, probable that the usurper would have been in a position to attempt the forcible conversion of his new subjects; and it may be presumed that, for a long period, his descendants contented themselves with practising their own faith, with, no doubt, greatly relaxed stringency, without interfering with that of their subjects. It is not till eight generations of rulers later, which would represent a period of two centuries, that we meet with a Mussulman Thum in the neighbouring state of Nagar. There was, probably, a fresh impulse given to Mahommedanism about the end of the sixteenth century, for it was at about that period that a Persian adventurer, the founder of the present ruling families of Chitral and Yassin, established himself in Kashkar. The names of those whose kingdom he usurped are lost, the only record being that they were of the Shahreis family, which is the name by which the Gigit rulers previous to the time of Azor were known, and which was retained by the descendants of the usurper for four generations. The Emperor Baber, writing in the early part of the sixteenth century, speaks of Chitral as forming part of Kafiristan, "in the hill-country to the north-east lies Kafiristan, such as Katter and Gebrek."† But on several occasions he distinguishes this Kafiristan from Kafiristan Pich (which is still a Kafir country), as if some difference existed between the two. It is probable, therefore, that though the faith of Islam was introduced into the country mentioned about the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was long confined to

* Cunningham's Ladak, p.
† Erskine's Memoirs of Baber, page 140.

a limited number of the inhabitants, and did not become general till the middle or end of the sixteenth century. Even then its acceptance was so irregular that it is not surprising that Hindooism has lingered on, and has only become extinct in the present day.

The tribes of the Indus Valley were exposed earlier to the fervid preaching of the Moollahs of Swat and Boneyr, and this has led to the adoption by them of the Soonnee tenets. The people of Chilas, who were always a less tractable race than their neighbours, make it their boast that, though travellers and traders are safe in their country, no Shiah ever escapes out of their hands. At Gor, also, a few miles above Chilas, the people are all Soonnees, but a lesser type of Mahommedanism prevails, and prayers were till recently addressed to the god Taibar, whose horse is sculptured on the rock near the village.

In Gilgit the population is now three-fourths Soonnee and the rest Shiah, but at the commencement of the Sikh occupation, the greater proportion were Shiahs or Moolais, and it is related that any Soonnee falling into their hands was branded with a hot iron unless he consented to become a proselyte. Those who now still adhere to the Moolai tenets, are mostly old men, who keep the fact concealed as far as possible, and call themselves Shiahs. At Soonnea, a secluded village in Yasin, the people, though professed Mussulmans, still make offerings to the god Shaitan. In several other places the names of local deities are still preserved, and objects, such as a peculiar-shaped rock near a village, are still regarded with veneration, and invoked in the registration of solemn covenants.

The influence of the Iskardo Princes introduced Shiah tenets into the north-eastern part of Dardistan, while the tenets of the Moolais have made their way from the Oxus Valley across the passes of the Hindoo Koosh. In Nagar the entire population are Shiahs of the orthodox type, and so are two-thirds of the people of Baltistan; the rest belong to the Noor Buksh sect. In Hunza, till a few years ago, Shiah tenets found many followers; now the Mear and the whole population are Moolais.

The Shiahs in these countries lament the martyrdom of the sons of Ali twice a year; once at the usual time according to the Mahommedan calendar, and again in the month of August, the season at which they say the martyrdom actually occurred.

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David AVS

be difficult to recognize, that is if those who are less so are scrupulously honest! Although they now speak a dialect of Tibetan they must at one time have had a language of their own of which one sometimes strikes peculiar remnants. At Kalatse, for instance, the branches of the pencil cedar are freshly put on one of their *lhatse* at the New Year, accompanied by the mumbling of phrases which they do not understand themselves, but which are usually remains of their own Dardish language.

Nothing, however, can be more strange than their religious arrangements. As has already been mentioned, the *Broggpa* of Hanu and also of the village of Da, which is quite near-by, is a Buddhist, but often in a Buddhist family one member must of necessity be a Mohammedan. Of a similar, but converse arrangement, a most striking example is told. We passed through the village of Bot Kharbu on our way up to Leh. Here there lives a family of Mohammedan Broggpas, but one member of this family must always be a Buddhist priest of the neighbouring monastery of Lamayuru. Now the Mohammedan is only allowed to eat the meat of an animal that has been *halladed*, that is to say has had its throat cut, whilst the butcher says "Bismillah—it is the will of God," whereas the Buddhist eats meat killed in any way, so long as he himself has not taken the life of the animal. This family avoids such complications by the simple expedient of cooking all the meat in one pot, irrespective of how the animal has been killed, then inserts a bit of stick into the cooking pot, which is said to separate off *halladed* meat from *unhalladed*, and all the Mohammedan has to be careful about is that he shall not take meat from the wrong side of the stick. Another method they have of keeping on good terms with the spirit powers of both religions is to make members of successive generations of the same family belong to the religion of Mahomet and the lamas in turn. Thus the Broggpa supplies us with another version of the Vicar of Bray story. Some authorities account

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for this extraordinary arrangement by the fact that originally the Dards were Mohammedans, and presumably have not been able entirely to throw off this allegiance. It is stated that in one of their villages, they actually found a burial ground; sure proof to them of a Mohammedan ancestry, for the Buddhist burns his dead, whilst it is the Mohammedan that inters. This may be a satisfactory explanation of their religious ideas, but from whence have they derived all their taboos? Thus the Broggpa must not raise fowl, nor may he eat their eggs. The cow may be employed for the ploughing of his fields, but the gods would most certainly be displeased were he to drink their milk, or even use the butter which is made from the same. In other villages the eating of fish is taboo, and by the look and smell of them washing surely must be also. In fact they know that it is "Krima med" not the custom. For some time it almost seemed to us as if vaccination was also on their list of prohibitions, for, although they had actually begged us to come for this very purpose, it took the three of us quite a long time cajoling, threatening, entreating and advising them, before they would undergo this fearful operation. At last one faced it, soon to be followed by the others, so that eventually we had quite a busy morning vaccinating. A week later this must have been a sore village, where most of the people wished vaccination had been taboo, but by then we were well away with the knowledge that, should smallpox attack Hanu, it would find the defences fairly strong.

Now let us pay a visit to the Khampas, although it wants a George Borrow to describe these gipsies of Western Tibet. Kham, from whence they come, is a province of Tibet, but when we see the numbers of them who wander over the Indian parts of the Himalayas, we begin to wonder whether any of them are left "at home." Evidently the Khampa finds it more lucrative to wander like our own gipsies than to stay on his native soil. As the bazar in Leh provides most of the things needed by the people who inhabit the upper valley of

The people of Astor and Gilgit would be surprised if they were told that they were Dards living in Dardistán, and their neighbours of Hunza-Nagar and Yasin would be equally astonished. If consulted, they would probably describe their country as Shináka, or the land of the Shins, where Shiná is the spoken language. They are an Aryan people, sturdy built, cheery, honest, frugal, and sober. They are devoted to polo, and are fond of dancing. The inhabitants of Astor wear a peculiar head-dress: a bag of woollen cloth, half a yard long, which is rolled up outwards at the edges until it gets to the size to fit comfortably to the head, round which the roll makes a protection from cold or from sun, nearly as good as a turban. Their houses are small, with very small doors, and are usually built out from the mountain side. Warmth is the one consideration. The Astoris have some very peculiar customs. Drew notices that they hold the cow in abhorrence. They will not drink cow's milk, nor will they burn cow-dung, the universal fuel of the East, and in a pure Shin village no one will eat fowls or touch them. They practise inoculation for small-pox, their one epidemic. The people of Astor are Musalmáns, two-thirds being of the Sunni persuasion, and the rest being either Shiahs or Maulais. There is no religious intolerance in Astor.

Drew mentions the following caste divisions: Rorus, Shins, Yashkun, Kromins, and Dums. As regards the Rorus caste, he says that there are a small number of families in Gilgit. Biddulph, in his *Tribes of the Hindu Koosh*, states that it forms 6 per cent. of the Gilgit population, and that it is the most honoured caste of all, ranking next to Mukhpuns or the Raja caste of Dardistán. The majority of the Astoris belong to the Yashkun caste, and the Shins are few in number, under 3,000. They are more numerous in Gilgit, the total number of Shins, according to the Census, being 7,733. The Shins are regarded with great respect by the Yashkuns and the other castes. The Yashkuns claim the Shins as their forefathers. The Shins give their daughters to Rorus and to Saiyids, but take wives from the Yashkuns. Far away in Central Ladákh, in the Hanu valley, live other Dards of the Buddhist religion. They have retained the Aryan type of the country whence they came and its Shiná dialect, but they wear the pigtail and the Ladákhi cap. It is said that, though Buddhist by name, they really worship local spirits and demons. They practise polyandry, but they will not eat with Tibetan Buddhists, and, like the Shins in Dardistán, they hold the cow in abhorrence.

In Gilgit, as in Astor, there are few social subdivisions, for

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persons while others acquiring land were Dalit women. These people live in Lah on the villages surrounding it and carry on trade in lumber, salt, wool, apricots etc.

(xxii) Gilgit - Several tribes from Yaghistan, Afghanistan, Chitral, Hunza, Nagar, Kashmir and the Punjab have come and settled in Gilgit. Some of the Yaghistanis have migrated to Gilgit and settled there. Others have fled from the country to escape the penalty attendant on family feuds so common among primitive and uncivilized people. Some have been driven by poverty and debt to seek in Gilgit from Yaghistan. Some of these have succeeded even in acquiring land. These people are generally industrial criminals and constitute a scourge to the local inhabitants whose morals have also been affected by nothing on account with them.

From Afghanistan, Chitral and Hunza to the N. W. F. Province have come Pathans, Shins and Yaghistanis. They chief occupations are service, labour and trade. The Punjab has contributed some Hindus and Sikhs who are mainly engaged in trade.

From the Jammu Province some Hindus have migrated as trade classes and some Gurjars have also settled in the area and follow their own calling.

A large number of Kashmiri Muslims from the provinces of Kashmir have gone to Gilgit for purposes of trade and settled there.

From Ladakh have come Baltis who are usually labourers or are employed in some sort of service. The pensions in Gilgit are generally of Balti tribe. The Baltis stay there for a year or so and return home after that period. Some of them have married local women and thereby acquired land. In Baltistan they are divided into separate tribes but here they are classed as Yaghistanis without distinction.

Trade in this part of the country holds out bright prospects which have attracted immigrants of so many castes and parts of countries to settle at Gilgit.

The local inhabitants are generally landholders who do not take kindly to labour. There are no blacksmiths, carpenters or carpenters in the country. Naturally therefore labourers from Baltistan, Hunza and Nagar and the artisans are lured into the place and return home after making money.

Before Gilgit passed under the Dogra rule there were no roads. The paths led over mountains and were perilous in the extreme. Such a state of affairs introduced immigration of the trading community though it did not present an insurmountable obstacle to agriculturists and pastoral people. After the establishment of Dogra rule communications underwent a distinct improvement which led people to keep ponies for transport. In Astore at present the people generally depend on the form of transport for a major part of their income. In Gilgit proper even carts are maintained by some enterprising men.

Labour in Gilgit especially for construction of roads and bridges comes from Hunza, Nagar, Baltistan and other surrounding villages.

Were there no Burzil pass between Kashmir and Gilgit migration would expand but the pass remains closed for nearly six months of the year and permanently bars egress and ingress. Gilgit, however, does not hold out unlimited possibilities for immigrants as the population is on the rise while the cultivable land is limited and the produce insufficient.

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Immigration has affected the customs of the people. The Yaghistanis are Sunnis while the people of Gilgit belong to the Shia sect. In the past the Gilgit rulers observed no distinction between Sunnis and Shias and mutual

marital relations were frequent but the growing influx of Yaghistanis has served to make the distinction pronounced and now such relations are rare.

The religious life of the people of the past was simple but contact with outsiders has brought about a change in religious outlook and has made the people here to observe injunctions with greater zeal and fidelity.

Formerly the total population was divided into castes and each caste was endogamous but this practice is now giving way as a result of observance of Shikaramuddin law. The people have an exaggerated confidence and do not go out for labour or service but they have begun to send out boys to Colleges at Srinagar for prosecution of studies which marks a change.

Frontier Dialects—Shinaand is on all sides by high mountains except the Darelian Dialect tends to be corroded by Shinaand as a result of the problem of migration. Shinaand has superseded and search for livelihood makes men penetrate into this isolated country also. There is a periodic flow of Gujjars from Yaghistan and Gilgit to the hill grazing grounds in the upper valleys of the mountain bench that separates the two territories. This lasts for about four months in the year.

Besides Gujjars, Kishtwaris from the Lower Indus Kohistan come to these Ilaqas for trade or labour and have brought about a slight change in caste composition by inducing a few of the locals to take up trade. The number affected is, however, almost negligible though no doubt a beginning has been made.

From Hunza where the population is greater than the country can comfortably support, a few individuals come down to Gilgit in search of work, and occasionally go to India to seek employment, but the people in general are so devoted to their homes that they prefer poverty and want there to greater prosperity elsewhere.

(3) Conclusion.—We are now in a position to state the general facts about migration which follow as a conclusion from the above account.

(1) The castes that are comparatively more migratory are the Gujjars, Doghlis and Bakarwals who follow pastoral professions.

Next to these come Kashmir Muslims whose annual exodus to British India constitutes the main emigration current. The Shins and Mayar people are also more on the move than others. The Brahmans and other Hindu castes who go to the Punjab for labour are comparatively fewer in number. The trading section of the Hindus, and the Rajputs who go out in quest of service, contribute a fair share to the volume of migration.

(2) The emigrants from the State are generally males while immigrants also have a preponderance of males. Those emigrants who have permanently or semi-permanently settled in the State either as traders or ammunitions or State servants are accompanied by their families though some of them send out their families to their countries or Hunza which deviates from female population in Hunza, the case where reverse is taken. During summer the annual visitors to the Kashmir valley are accompanied by their wives but the male element is in excess.

(3) The emigration of the State inhabitants has no effect on sex fertility as the emigrations is periodic lasting from 4 to 8 months.

(4) Migration has resulted in greater fidelity to religion especially in the case of Muslims who by coming in contact with outside Muslims have begun to follow the Quranic injunctions with greater devotion. The changes effected in religious sphere in Gilgit illustrate this tendency. As regards Hindus, a liberalising of beliefs is noticeable especially as the result of Arya Samaj activity.

4 [Errata: read "more". cf. errata sheet, p. 329, category 116 -- Analysis]